

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 NEW DELHI 17051

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TAGS: PFOR IN US

SUBJECT: AND NOW FOR SOME GOOD NEWS

1) NO ONE WILL TELL YOU THIS IF I DON'T, AND I WOULDN'T HAVE SAVE FOR A CABLE FROM CALCUTTA THIS MORNING COMMENTING ON THE QUITE EXTRAORDINARY EDITORIAL REACTION THERE TO MY LAST (AND FIRST) PRESS CONFERENCE, AND OF THE INTERVIEWS I GAVE TO THE WASHINGTON POST AND THE NEW YORK TIMES. THE CABLE COMMENTS: "A CREDIBILITY...HAS APPARENTLY BEEN ESTABLISHED...WHICH HAS RESULTED IN HIS FAREWELL REMARKS BEING ACCEPTED AS A BONE FIDE CRITIQUE... UNDER ALMOST ANY OTHER CIRCUMSTANCES WE CAN THINK OF, THE SAME REMAKRS WOULD BE INSTANTLY AND HEATEDLY REJECTED AS YET ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF USG MALA FIDES VIS A VIS INDIA." HERewith TWO PARAGRAPHS FROM THE CALCUTTA CABLE:

QTE. THE ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA EDITORIAL IS WORTH NOTING SINCE IT HAS ENORMOUS READERSHIP (IT IS THE LARGEST CIRCULATING PAPER IN INDIA PUBLISHED ONLY IN ONE CITY(AND SINCE IT USUALLY REFLECTS A DISTINCTIVELY NON-ANGLICIZED, NATIONALISTIC, UNCLASSIFIED

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CONSERVATIVE ORIENTATION. IT IS FULL OF PRAISE FOR MOYNIHAN

THE PERSON. "THE HARVARD PROFESSOR WILL BE REMEMBERED IN INDIA, NOT BECAUSE OF HIS DIPLOMATIC SUCCESSES (WHICH IT SAYS ARE MANY) BUT FOR HIS OUT SPOKENNESS... MOYNIHAN IN HIS LAST PRESS CONFERENCE IS AS KEEN AN OBSERVER AND DAUNTLESS A CRITIC AS BEFORE. HE IS AS UNHESITATING IN CRITICIZING INDIA'S FAULTS AS HE IS OUTSPOKEN IN SCOLDING HIS OWN COUNTRY." AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS UNDERSTANDABLY HESITANT TO SAY ANYTHING DEFINITIVE ABOUT INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS ("...SUCCESS OF THE CURRENT EFFORTS TOWARD ESTABLISHING FRIENDLY RELATIONS DEPENDS TO A GREAT EXTENT ON THE ATTITUDES AND POLICIES OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE PENTAGON, AND NOT MERELY ON THE AMBASSADOR'S SINCERITY OR PL480 WHEAT...WE HAVE TO WAIT TO SEE THE RESULTS OF THE UPCOMING MEETINGS...") UNQTE

QTE. ALL OF THE PRECEEDING WAS OF INTEREST, BUT SOMETHING STARTLING APPEARED IN THE DEC 29 HINDUSTHAN STANDARD WRITTEN BY A SENIOR AND DISTINGUISHED EDITOR (AND NATIONAL AWARD WINNER) RANAJIT ROY ENTITLED "STEADILY MOVING BACKWARD", ROY'S COMMENT (OF WHICH YOU HAVE THE TEXT) IS A REVIEW OF THE 1968-74 PERIOD IN INDIAN HISTORY, FOCUSSED AROUND INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS MOSTLY ECONOMIC AND AID IN NATURE AND A DAMNING INDICTMENT EMERGES OF THE INDIAN LEADERSHIP SINCE 1971. THE FAMILIAR PROBLEMS OF THE INDIAN ECONOMY ARE REVIEWED: INDUSTRIAL STAGNATION, FALSE HOPES OF AGRICULTURAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY, GENERAL LACK OF POLITICAL WILL TO PURSUE MEANINGFUL LAND REFORM OR GRAIN PROCUREMENT POLICIES. THE ROY SAYS, "WHAT THE (MOYNIHAN) HAS SAID MEANS IN PLAIN LANGUAGE THAT INDIAN RULERS ARE SUSTAINING THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF VESTED INTERESTS WHO, IN TURN, ARE SUSTAINING THE POLITICAL POWER OF THE RULERS. THE US AMBASSADOR'S ANALYSIS RUNS COUNTER TO THAT OF MR. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION, WHO NOT ONLY RUNS HIS OWN COUNTRY BUT ALSO GUIDES THE THINKING OF A WHOLE GALAXY OF COMMUNIST PARTIES, INCLUDING OUR OWN CPI. MR. BREZHNEV HAS PRONOUNCED THAT INDIA IS 'SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVING HER SOCIO-ECONOMIC TENSIONS' WHICH, IN PLAIN LANGUAGE MEANS THAT THE CONDITIONS OF THE PEOPLE ARE IMPROVING AND THAT THE GAP BETWEEN THE RICH AND THE POOR IS NARROWING. WHO HAS SPOKEN THE TRUTH ABOUT THE DEVELOPMENTS IN OUR COUNTRY UNDER THE SO-CALLED FIVE-YEAR PLANS - MR. MOYNIHAN OR MR. BREZHNEV?". THE UNCLASSIFIED

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WHOLE THRUST OF THE ESSAY IS THAT MOYNIHAN IS RIGHT. THIS SUGGESTS THAT THE USSR IS WRONG AND PULLING ITS PUNCHES FOR SOME REASON. UNQTE.

2) THEN, TODAY, CAME AN EDITORIAL IN THE HINDU, THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE MADRAS PAPER WHICH IS SURELY THE BEST IN INDIA, AND HAS THE LARGEST CIRCULATION.

QUOTE

THROUGH MOYNIHAN'S EYES

IN A FAREWELL PRESS CONFERENCE ON SUNDAY, MR. DANIEL MOYNIHAN, WHO WILL SHORTLY BE RELINQUISHING HIS POST AS US AMBASSADOR TO INDIA, DID SOME PLAIN-SPEAKING WHICH SHOULD GIVE FOOD FOR THOUGHT TO THE POLICYMAKERS IN WASHINGTON AND NEW DELHI. HE NOTED THAT WHILE INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS WERE GENERALLY CORDIAL, THEY DID NOT FLOURISH AS THEY OUGHT TO AND HE ASKED WHAT THE TWO COUNTRIES, MEANING THEIR GOVERNMENTS, WERE GOING TO DO TO MAKE THEIR RELATIONS MORE EXTENSIVE. FROM THE DULLESIAN CONCEPT OF INDIA'S NON-ALIGNMENT AS BEING "IMMORAL" TO DR. KISSINGER'S PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF THE LEGITIMACY OF NON-ALIGNMENT AND THE BONA FIDES OF INDIA'S ROLE IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAVE NO DOUBT ADVANCED A LONG DISTANCE. BUT THEY ARE YET TO REACH THE STAGE WHEN OFFICIAL SPOKESMEN OR POLITICAL LEADERS OF EITHER COUNTRY WILL REGARD THOSE OF THE OTHER WITHOUT MENTAL RESERVATIONS. IN THE LAST 25 YEARS THERE HAVE BEEN MORE SERIOUS POLICY DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND TOKYO THAN BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND NEW DELHI. YET U.S. TIES WITH BRITAIN AND JAPAN HAVE NEVER BEEN THE KIND OF TOUCH-AND-GO RELATIONSHIP AS ITS RELATIONS WITH INDIA HAVE OFTEN BEEN. THIS HAS INDEED BEEN UNFORTUNATE, THOUGH PERHAPS UNAVOIDABLE FOR HISTORICAL REASONS. INDIA, WHICH HAD GAINED ITS INDEPENDENCE FROM COLONIAL RULE, WAS NATURALLY SUSPICIOUS OF THE UNITED STATES WITH ITS RECORD OF DOLLAR IMPERIALISM IN LATIN AMERICA AND MILITARY INVOLVEMENT IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE WORLD. AND THE UNITED STATES COULD NOT BRING ITSELF TO ACCEPT CRITICISM OF ITS POLICIES BY WHAT IT CONSIDERED THE JOHNNY-COME-LATELY OF INDEPENDENT INDIA. DR. KISSINGER'S RECENT TALKS IN NEW DELHI WITH INDIA'S LEADERS HELPED TO CLEAR MUTUAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS TO SOME EXTENT AND LAY THE GROUND FOR A MORE MATURE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES. MUCH, HOWEVER, REMAINS TO BE DONE BY BOTH TO ESTABLISH THE KIND OF RAPPORT WHICH

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MR. MOYNIHAN AND THE INDIAN PUBLIC AT LARGE, EXCEPT FOR LEFTIST GROUPS, WOULD WISH TO PREVAIL.

MOYNIHAN

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07 L-02

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FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5891

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THE MOMENTUM IMPARTED TO IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BY THE KISSINGER VISIT HAS SLOWED DOWN BECAUSE FOLLOW-UP ACTION HAS NOT BEEN QUICK. THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL JOINT INDO-AMERICAN COMMISSION AND ITS THREE SUB-COMMISSIONS (ON ECONOMIC AFFAIRS, SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND EDUCATION AND CULTURE) ARE YET TO GET GOING. MR. MOYNIHAN HAS DEPLORED THE TREND IN THE UNITED STATES OF PAYING TOO LITTLE ATTENTION TO INDIA AND THE ILLOGICAL HESITATION OF AMERICAN BUSINESS AND CAPITAL, NOW RUSHING INTO RUSSIA AND OTHER COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, TO INVEST IN DEMOCRATIC AND STABLE INDIA. HE DID WELL TO REMIND THEM THAT "HALF OF THE PEOPLE ON EARTH WHO LIVE IN A SOCIETY WITH CIVIL LIBERTIES LIVE IN INDIA" AND OF THE STAKE THE U.S. HAD IN INDIA'S WELL-BEING. WHAT INDIA NEEDS NOW FOR ITS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IS NOT FOREIGN AID OF THE OLD TYPE BUT MORE FOREIGN CAPITAL INVESTMENT AND MORE SCOPE FOR TRADE WITH THE ADVANCED COUNTRIES. IN TIMES PAST, IT WAS ALWAYS THE FLAG THAT FOLLOWED TRADE, AS HAPPENED IN INDIA ITSELF WHEN THE BRITISH CROWN MOVED IN ON THE HEELS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. THE PATTERN HAS BEEN REVERSED SINCE THE SECOND WORLD WAR. PRACTICALLY ALL THE FORMER SUBJECT COUNTRIES HAVE BECOME INDEPENDENT AND IT IS TRADE THAT FOLLOWS THE FLAG, IN THE SENSE THAT TRADE TAKES ITS CUE FROM GOVERNMENTS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE MOMENT THE US AND SOVIET GOVERNMENTS STARTED THEIR DETENTE. UNCLASSIFIED

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TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES BEGAN TO FLOURISH. THOUGH THE UNITED STATES CAN CLAIM TO BE A MORE LITERATE COUNTRY THAN INDIA, PUBLIC OPINION THERE, AS HERE, IS LARGELY GUIDED FROM ABOVE. A MORE POSITIVE ASSERTION BY THE US GOVERNMENT OF INDIA'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STABILITY AND THE SAFETY IT OFFERS

FOR AMERICAN INVESTMENT AND A MORE POSITIVE WELCOME BY NEW DELHI TO THE AMERICAN INVESTOR AND ASSURANCE OF PROFITABILITY OF HIS INVESTMENT

WOULD THEREFORE SEEM TO BE CALLED FOR TO PROMOTE CLOSE ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

WITH THE EXCEPTION OF MR. LOY HENDERSON, THE FIRST US AMBASSADOR TO INDEPENDENT INDIA, WHO WAS TOO MUCH OF A STRIPED-TROUSERS-AND-SPATS MAN, INDIA HAS RECEIVED A SERIES OF AMERICAN ENVOYS WHO HAVE SHOWN GENUINE INTEREST IN AND UNDERSTANDING OF ITS MYRIAD PROBLEMS AND HAVE TRIED TO HELP TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE.

MR. MOYNIHAN HAS BEEN AN OUTSTANDING SCION OF THIS DIPLOMATIC BREED. WITHIN THE TWO SHORT YEARS HE HAS BEEN IN NEW DELHI, HE SLOWLY BUT SURELY LIFTED INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS TO A PROMISING PLATEAU, NO DOUBT MADE POSSIBLE BY HIS ELIMINATING THE BIGGEST IMPEDIMENT IN THE WAY, NAMELY THE LIQUIDATION OF THE HIMALAYAN PL-480 FUND. HARVARD PROFESSOR THAT HE IS, HE HAS SOMETIMES SAID HARSH THINGS ABOUT SOME INDIAN POLICIES AND ATTITUDES. BUT THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THOSE THINGS WERE SAID CONSTRUCTIVELY RATHER THAN TO DENIGRATE THE COUNTRY. IT IS IN THIS LIGHT THAT HIS LATEST CRITICAL COMMENTS ALSO (IN HIS INTERVIEW TO AMERICAN CORRESPONDENTS), ABOUT INDIA'S ECONOMIC POLICIES AND TARDY INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS, SHOULD BE VIEWED. UNQTE.

3) FINALLY, TODAY, CAME AN EDITORIAL IN "THOUGHT", A WEEKLY JOURNAL IN RATHER THE TRADITION OF THE NEW LEADER IN THE UNITED STATES, WHICH TO MIND SAYS ALL THAT COULD BE SAID FOR A JOURNAL.

QUOTE
MOYNIHAN'S GOODBYE TO INDIA

NOT AT ALL TRAINED FOR DIPLOMACY --
HIS DISCIPLINE AND PREFERENCE WERE ALWAYS THOSE OF AN ACADEMIC
IN THE BEST SENSE OF THE TERM -- DANIEL MOYNIHAN SHOULD REALLY
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LOOK BACK ON INDIA WITH CONSIDERABLE SATISFACTION. IN TWO YEARS OF TOUR OF DUTY IN OUR COMPLEX COUNTRY, MR. MOYNIHAN HAS DONE, AT AN EXTRAORDINARILY DELICATE STAGE IN INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS, WHAT NO CAREER DIPLOMAT COULD EVEN HOPE TO APPROACH SUCCESSFULLY.

IT WAS A TRIBUTE TO HIS TALENTS AND INTELLECTUAL ATTAINMENTS WHEN, ON HEARING OF HIS ASSIGNMENT TO INDIA, AN IMPORTANT TRAINED WESTERN DIPLOMAT REMARKED THAT MR MOYNIHAN WOULD BE AN INTELLECTUAL ASSET TO A DIPLOMATIC COMMUNITY ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD. MR. MOYNIHAN HAS SHOWN IT THROUGH HIS IMMENSE PATIENCE AND INCOMPARABLE CAPACITY TO UNDERSTAND THE MIND AND MOTIVE OF THE UNIQUE TRIBE OF POLITICIANS IN INDIA, MOSTLY IN THE RULING PARTY.

INDIA HAS HAD THE PRIVILEGE OF HAVING TWO NON-DIPLOMATIC AMERICAN AMBASSADORS BEFORE HIM. ONE OF THEM WAS INTELLECTUALLY TOO ARROGANT; THE OTHER TOO POPULIST, TO THE EXTENT OF GOING HOME FROM A DINNER PARTY ON A CYCLE WITH HIS WIFE ON THE PILLION..MR. MOYNIHAN MUST SURELY HAVE NOTICED THE PARADOXES IN INDIAN SOCIETY EVEN WITHOUT FOLLOWING CLOSELY WHAT KENNETH GALBRAITH FOR ONE REASON AND CHESTER BOWLES FOR ANOTHER ATTEMPTED TO DO IN THIS COUNTRY, APART FROM REGULATION TASK OF STRENGTHENING RELATIONS BETWEEN INDIA AND AMERICA. IN INDIA, MR MOYNIHAN HAS SUCCESSFULLY AVOIDED BEING SUSPECTED OF BEING ANOTHER GALBRAITH WHO NEVER MISSED ANY OPPORTUNITY TO EXHIBIT HIS UNDOUBTED INTELLECTUAL EXCELLENCE. NOR DID MR MOYNIHAN FALL FOR THE FABLE ON WHICH MR BOWLES SEEMED TO HAVE WORKED IN INDIA DURING HIS TWO TERMS AS US AMBASSADOR. THE FABLE IS THAT EASY ACCESSIBILITY WAS THE ROAD TO THE HEART OF AN AVERAGE INDIAN.

MR MOYNIHAN INDEED COMBINED, RATHER UNEXPECTEDLY, THE SUBTLETY AND SIMPLICITY OF MR BUNKER WHOM THE OFFICIALDOM IN NEW DELHI RESPECTED FOR HIS STRENGTH OF WILL IN DEALING WITH IT. HIS "YES" AND "NO" WERE ACCEPTED UNQUESTIONINGLY FOR WHAT THE WORDS MEANT. MR BUNKER GAVE NO OCCASION FOR ANYBODY IN NEW DELHI TO FEEL SUPERIOR TO HIM IN ANYWAY, SPIRITUAL OR TEMPORAL, EVEN FOR POLITENESS; NOR DID HE OFFEND ANYBODY BY STANDOFFISH OR PUT-OFFISH MANNER. IT WAS NO WONDER THAT DWIGHT EISENHOWER, OTHERWISE THE HUMDRUM OCCUPANT OF THE WHITE HOUSE AT THE TIME, HAD THE WIDEST AND THE WARMEST RECEPTION IN INDIA EVER FOR A HEAD OF A FOREIGN STATE, BEFORE OR AFTER, NOT EXCLUDING KHRUSHCHEV EARLIER AND QUEEN ELIZABETH II LATER.

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IT WAS MR MOYNIHAN WHO PERSUADED NOT ONLY THE WHITE HOUSE BUT HIS COUNTRY'S SUPREME LEGISLATURE, CONGRESS, TO AGREE TO WRITE OFF A 15-BILLION-RUPEE DEBT OWED BY INDIA ON ACCOUNT OF FOODGRAIN PURCHASES AND IT WAS HE WHO ENABLED HIS STAFF TO FEEL FROM THEIR OBSESSIVE UNDERGROUND INHIBITIONS BY CONVINCING NEW DELHI THAT THE PERSONNEL IN HIS EMBASSY DID NOT TAKE ORDERS FROM THE MYTHICAL PERVASIVE CIA. BEFORE MR MOYNIHAN'S ADVENT AT TAJ MARIA, THE ARCHITECT'S ORIGINAL TITLE FOR THE BUILDING HOUSING THE US EMBASSY, EVERY OFFICIAL WHO STIRRED OUT AS WELL AS ANY INDIAN WHO HAD THE BOLDNESS AND SHAMELESSNESS OF MEETING HIM AT A CLUB OR A SOCIAL FUNCTION WAS SUPPOSED TO BE A CIA AGENT, EXCEPTING THOSE WHO DID SO RATHER CLANDESTINELY.

MR MOYNIHAN'S GREATEST CONTRIBUTION TO CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN OUR TWO GREAT DEMOCRACIES, AS HE MIGHT PUT IT, IS THE DISAPPEARANCE OF THAT SUSPICION. BUT ACTUAL INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP, THOUGH CORDIAL NOW, STILL REMAINS THIN, AS MR MOYNIHAN HAS TOLD THE TWO MOST IMPORTANT NEWSPAPERS IN HIS

COUNTRY. IN A FIT OF WHAT LOOKS LIKE RETURN TO BOWLISM, MR MOYNIHAN TOO HAS FOUND FAULT WITH HIS OWN GOVERNMENT FOR NOT APPRECIATING INDIA. HIS EQUATION IS OF COURSE DIFFERENT IN THE CHANGED WORLD SITUATION. WHY MUST AMERICA BE SO PREOCCUPIED WITH CHINA IGNORING INDIA, HE SEEMS TO HAVE ASKED HIS GOVERNMENT.

MR MOYNIHAN HAS ASSURED, IN HIS FIRST AND LAST PRESS CONFERENCE, THAT HE HAS HAD NO DISAPPOINTMENT IN INDIA. OBVIOUSLY, HE HAS HAD NONE. FOR HE TOO IN SOME WAYS BEHAVED AS IF HE WERE AN INDIAN AMBASSADOR ACCREDITED TO WASHINGTON IN NEW DELHI. THAT THIS SHOULD HAVE HAPPENED AT A TIME WHEN BOTH INDIA AND AMERICA WERE TRYING TO OUTGROW MUTUAL SENTIMENTALISM TO A LEVEL OF MATURITY IN MUTUAL RELATIONS IS INDEED AMAZING. BUT THIS NEED NOT BE PUT TO THE DEBIT SIDE OF THE LEDGER OF MR MOYNIHAN'S AMBASSADORSHIP.

WHAT IS IMMEDIATELY IMPORTANT IS THE TEARFUL FACT THAT A GENUINE INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP BUILDER ON A MATURE BASIS IS LEAVING HIS JOB MIDSTREAM. ONE FINDS IT DIFFICULT TO ASSUME THAT AMERICA'S FIRST NON-ELECTED PRESIDENT WISHED IT THAT WAY. A CONTRARY CONCLUSION FROM MR MOYNIHAN'S GOODBYE TO INDIA WOULD, BUT SHOULD NOT, IMPLY THAT MR MOYNIHAN IS RUNNING AWAY, FROM CHALLENGES, TO HIS CUSHY JOB AT HARVARD WHEN, WITH ALL THE IFS AND WHENS, UNCLASSIFIED

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INEVITABLE IN THE GIVEN SITUATION, INDO-AMERICAN RELATIONS WERE ABOUT TO ENTER UPON A MUTUALLY MATURE COOPERATIVE BASIS. MR MOYNIHAN MAY FEEL RELIEVED OF AN ALMOST SISYPHEAN BURDEN. BUT THERE WOULD BE MANY IN INDIA WHO WOULD BID HIM GOODBYE WITH DEEP REGRET. UNQTE.

4) I DARE TO WONDER IF WE ARE NOT GETTING INTO A SITUATION WHERE WE CAN HAVE A REALISTIC AND MEANINGFUL RELATIONSHIP AFTER ALL. IT MAY HAVE REQUIRED MY SAYING I THOUGHT OTHERWISE TO EVOKE THIS RESPONSE.MOYNIHAN

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